

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 034232

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E.O. 11652:GDS

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TAGS:PARM, JA, IAEA, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM: JAPAN'S NPT RATIFICATION PROCESS
AT CRUCIAL STAGE (S/S 7503228)

REF: VIENNA 1124 (TOSEC

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIB AND LORD, THRUACTING
SECRETARY

1. PROBLEM: WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE EMPHASIS OF OUR NON-
PROLIFERATION POLICY IS UPON STRENGTHENING THE INTER-
NATIONAL SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM. WHILE AWARE OF THE ROLE OF THE
NPT IN THIS REGARD, WE DO NOT WANT TO PRESSURE THE GOJ TO
RATIFY THE TREATY AGAINST THEIR OWN WISHES. HOWEVER, GOJ
TEAM IN VIENNA HAS NOW COMPLETED NEGOTIATION OF JAPAN-
IAEA SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT, THUS CLEARING WAY FOR DECISION
BY LDP ON WHETHER PARTY SHOULD SUPPORT DIET RATIFICATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 034232

OF NPT THIS YEAR. AT THIS KEY JUNCTURE WHEN ISSUE IS RIPE

FOR DECISION IN JAPAN, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT US ATTITUDE BE CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD, SO THAT NEITHER PROPONENTS NOR OPPONENTS OF RATIFICATION MAY MISREPRESENT OUR VIEWS.

2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS: BOTH PRIMIN MIKI AND FONMIN

MIYAZAWA PREVIOUSLY HAVE ANNOUNCED GOJ'S INTENTION TO SEEK RATIFICATION OF NPT WHEN SAFEGUARDS NEGOTIATIONS ARE SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED. MIYAZAWA RECENTLY REPORTED TO DIET THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE PROCEEDING SUCCESSFULLY IN THAT JAPAN'S BASIC OBJECTIVES WERE BEING ACHIEVED. WHILE ALMOST ALL MAJOR PARTY FIGURES AND JAPANESE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY HAVE SUPPORTED RATIFICATION, ACTIVE MINORITY ELEMENTS WITHIN THE LDP REMAIN OPPOSED. THESE INCLUDE SUCH INFLUENTIAL FIGURES AS PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL NAKASONE, SOME OLDER RIGHT WING ELEMENTS AND YOUNGER NATIONALISTIC MEMBERS OF THE SEIRANKAI GROUP, ALL OF WHOM SEE THE ISSUE AS BEING WHETHER JAPAN SHOULD HOLD OPEN ITS "NUCLEAR OPTION" FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. WITH THE LDP UNDER WEAK LEADERSHIP, THIS MINORITY COULD WELL BLOCK PARTY SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION INDEFINITELY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES MIYAZAWA HAS MODERATED HIS POSITION SLIGHTLY, STATING TO THE DIET THAT HE WILL EXAMINE THE ISSUE THOROUGHLY. AT THE SAME TIME HE HAS APPOINTED VICE MINISTER TOGO AND DEPUTY VICE MINISTER ARITA TO EXPLAIN THE REASONS FOR RATIFICATION TO OPPOSITION ELEMENTS IN THE LDP. IT IS APPARENT THAT FINAL DECISION HAS YET TO BE MADE.

3. WITH THE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED AND THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, WHICH JAPAN WISHES TO ATTEND AS TREATY PARTY, SCHEDULED FOR MAY, THE RATIFICATION ISSUE IS NOW RIPE FOR DECISION. AS NO MORE FAVORABLE COMBINATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES IS EVER LIKELY TO OCCUR, THE NEXT FEW WEEKS--IN WHICH THE LDP MUST MAKE UP ITS MIND TO ACT OR NOT TO ACT IN SUPPORT OF TREATY--ARE CRUCIAL FOR JAPANESE RATIFICATION. THE CONCLUSION OF SAFEGUARDS NEGOTIATIONS HAS REMOVED LAST TECHNICAL REASON FOR JAPAN'S DELAY. (IN TURN, JAPANESE RATIFICATION WOULD REMOVE ONE MAJOR PRETEXT USED BY SOUTH KOREA TO JUSTIFY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 034232

ITS FAILING TO RATIFY.) THE ISSUE IS NOW SIMPLY WHETHER JAPAN SHOULD RATIFY OR POSTPONE INDEFINITELY, HOLDING OPEN ITS "NUCLEAR OPTION". WHATEVER THE REALITY, THIS WILL BE THE INTERPRETATION SOME KEY ELEMENTS IN JAPAN ATTACH TO DECISION. FURTHERMORE, OUR FAILURE TO TAKE A POSITION WILL BE INTERPRETED AS A POSITIVE ENDORSEMENT OF THE LATTER COURSE.

4. AS THE LDP LEADERS COME TO GRIPS WITH THIS ISSUE, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT US VIEWS BE CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD. WHILE WE DO NOT WISH TO APPEAR TO BE PRESSURING JAPAN TO RATIFY, NEITHER DO WE WISH TO BE PORTRAYED AS BEING OPPOSED WHEN, IN FACT, US POLICY FAVORS JAPAN'S RATIFICATION. AS REFTEL POINTS OUT, SOME KEY JAPANESE LEADERS FEEL THEY HAVE NEVER GOTTEN A CLEAR INDICATION OF OUR POSITION. THESE

LEADERS INCLUDE NAKASONE, WHO AS SEC GEN IS IMPORTANT IN THE LDP'S DECISION MAKING PROCESS. HE HAS BEEN INTER- PRETING YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM LAST NOVEMBER AS AN INDICATION THAT THE US HAS NO SPECIAL INTEREST IN OR CONCERN OVER JAPAN'S RATIFICATION.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE JAPAN- IAEA SAFEGUARDS NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE OUR POSITON CLEAR. BOTH OUR MISSION IN VIENNA AND EMBASSY IN TOKYO HAVE STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT AN APPROACH BE ;ADE. WE WOULD MAK" THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A). US IS PLEASED THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED TO SATISFACTION OF BOTH IAEA AND GOJ,

(B) US WILL WORK FOR EARLY FAVORABLE ACTION ON AGREEMENT BY IAEA BOARD,

(C) WHILE DECISION CONCERNING RATIFICATION IS, OF COURSE, UP TO JAPAN, WE DID NOT WANT OUR LACK OF REPRESENTATIONS TO BE MISINTERPRETED AS DISINTEREST IN JAPANESE RATIFI- CATION,

(D) WE HOPE THIS PROGRESS IN VIENNA WILL NOW MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR JAPAN TO RATIFY THE NPT IN TIME TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 034232

PARTICIPATE IN THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE AS A PARTY,

(E) WE ALSO HOPE RATIFICATION BY JAPAN, AS WELL AS THE EURATOM COUNTRIES, WILL REVITALIZE THE CAUSE OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION,

(F) RATIFICATION BY JAPAN MAY WELL ENCOURAGE RATIFI- CATION BY OTHER STATES, SUCH AS SOUTH KOREA,

(G) RATIFICATION WILL STRENGTHEN THE WEIGHT OF JAPAN'S VOICE IN UPCOMING CONSULTATIONS AMONGST THE NUCLEAR SUPPLIER COUNTRIES AND IN COOPERATION ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY.

6. IF WE DO NOT MAKE SUCH AN APPROACH, OPPONENTS OF

RATIFICATION WILL UNDOUBTEDLY PORTRAY OUR SILENCE AS
A FURTHER INDICATION THAT THE US IS INDIFFERENT TO
JAPANESE RATIFICATION. EVEN WITH OUR REPRESENTATIONS,
THERE IS NO ASSURANCE THAT THE PARTY CAN ACHIEVE A
CONSENSUS TO SUPPORT RATIFICATION. WE ARE ALERT TO THE
NEED TO AVOID ANY APPEARANCE OF PRESSURING THEM ON THIS
IN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE, BUT BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO
MAKE SURE OUR POSITION IS CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD.

7. RECOMMENDATION: 1. THAT YOU AUTHORIZE THE ACTING
SECRETARY TO CALL IN AMBASSADOR YASUKAWA TO MAKE THE
POINTS MENTIONED ABOVE,

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

2. AND, THAT YOU AUTHORIZE THE EMBASSY IN TOKYO TO MAKE
A PARALLEL APPROACH TO FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE INGERSOLL

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